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THE  
RELIGIOUS, RATIONAL,  
AND  
MORAL CONDUCT  
OF  
*Matthew Tindal*, L.L.D.  
LATE *K.*  
Fellow of *All Souls College* in  
OXFORD.

---

IN A LETTER TO A FRIEND.

---

By a MEMBER of the same COLLEGE.

---

*There shall come in the last Days Scoffers walking  
after their own Lusts. 2 Pet. iii. 3.*

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L O N D O N :

Printed for T. COOPER, at the *Globe* in  
*Pater-noster-Row*. M.DCC.XXXV.

[Price One Shilling.]

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[Price One Shilling]





T H B  
CONDUCT

Of the late

*Matthew Tindal*, LL. D.

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In a LETTER to a Friend.

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S I R,



N Obedience to your Commands I have here sent you some short Memoirs of that grand Apostate and Corrupter of the Principles and Morals of the Youth of the present Age, *Matthew Tindal*, Doctor of the Civil Law, and Fellow of *All-Souls College* in *Oxford*. I expect, and therefore am fully arm'd against all the fiery Darts which his Disciples and Followers shall be able to pelt me with. I am very certain, that the Immortality of raking into the Ashes of the

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Dead,

Dead, will be dressed up with all the impertinent Flourish, and rhetorical Gibberish that their wretched, as well as profligate and abandoned Scriblers are Masters of; and such Rules will be magisterially laid down to serve a present Turn, as will hinder any Man from writing a true History, and such as will leave, if admitted to be just, a Brand of Infamy upon all Historians, sacred or prophane, who have taken care to spare no Man's *Crimes* that have come within the Compass of their Subject, how favourable soever they have been to those smaller Faults or Failings, which are common to the best as well as the worst of Men, and therefore ought always to be buried along with us, and that too in perpetual Oblivion. As the Holy Scriptures have recorded the Treachery of *Judas* and the profligate Complaisance of *Pilate*, even where Life itself was concerned; as they have told us, that *the Memory of the Righteous shall be blessed, but the Name of the Wicked shall rot*; so all civiliz'd Nations have taken care to make Praise and Commendation the Reward of good and virtuous Actions, and Reproach and Infamy the Punishment of such as were abominably vile and wicked, and apparently tended to the Destruction, at least to the very great Prejudice, of human Society. Upon this Occasion they have spared neither Emperors nor Kings, nor any other great Men, but have described them in their proper Colours, without hiding or dissembling the Tyranny of one, or the Avarice or Debaucheries of another; hanging them up, as it were, in Chains, for a Terror to Posterity, to deter Men from imitating their Vices, in order to avoid the sharing with them in their Characters.

But 'tis needless to dwell a great while upon this Head, because our Adversaries will complain  
with

with so ill a Grace, that every Man of the least common Sense, that knows any thing of their Behaviour in Controversy, must needs despise their Clamours, which, as I said before, must certainly be expected from them. Let any serious intelligent Reader look into their Books and Pamphlets, and see with what a degree of Scorn, Contempt, and Virulence they have treated both the Living, and the Dead, and then let him resolve me whether the *Atheists*, described by *Plato* and *Lactantius* could possibly be more Proud, Insolent, and Abusive. That great and good Man, who at this time, God be thanked, presides in the See of *London*, and several other excellent Prelates, have been so outrageously pelted by them with such Loads of the most fulsome Ribaldry, as cannot but nauseate the Stomach of any one that hath the least Pretence to set up for a Man of Morals and Humanity. Among these the Answer of our worthy Doctor to one of my Lord Bishop of *London's* Pastoral Letters, is no less than a Master-Piece; but as this worthy and vigilant Overseer of the Flock of Christ, and the rest of his injured Brethren are still alive, and above the Reach of their feeble and contemptible Calumniators; and since the Attacks, which are made upon the Characters of the Living, are not so much to my present Purpose, as the barbarous Liberties that have been taken with the Dead, let any of our unbelieving Hectors justify, if they can, the brutal Treatment, of the Memory of Abp. *Laud*, which the Doctor's famous, or rather infamous Book, falsely entituled, *The Rights of the Christian Church*, is so very full of. This excellent Prelate's great Abilities, and great Service to the Protestant Cause, his Sincerity, Integrity, and Piety, are now universally acknowledged by all serious and intelligent Persons of both Parties. My Lord

Clarendon's History having been so triumphantly vindicated from the wicked and profligate Aspersions of a *Grub-street* Historiographer, the Archbishop's Character cannot be given better than in the Words of that noble Person, who knew him intimately, and is as far from concealing his Faults and Blemishes, as from depriving him of his real Virtues: "His Learning, Piety, and Virtue, *saieth* " *his Lordship*, have been attained by very few; " and the greatest of his Infirmities are common " to all, even to the best of Men." The greatest of those Infirmities, which his Lordship calls *unpopular and natural*, was " (besides a hasty sharp " way of expressing himself) that he believed " *Innocence of Heart, and Integrity of Manners*, " was a Guard strong enough to secure a Man in " his Voyage thro' this World, in what Company " soever he travelled, and what Ways soever he " was to pass. Sure any Man, (*continues this* " *noble and excellent Historian*) was never better " supplied with that Provision."

This Character of the Archbishop is the same in Substance with that which is given of him by Judge *Whitlock* in the 32d Page of his Memoirs in fewer Words, *viz.* " That he was too full " of Fire, but a just and good Man."

Dr. *Tindall*, and all of the same stamp, are as busy as possible in publishing all the little idle Stories of this great Prelate; but no Notice is taken of the Noble Defence which he made at his Tryal, of which it hath been truly said, that there is no Book extant which shews more lively the cursed Spirit of those Times, in carrying on their *Cause* with the blackest *Lyes*, and Diabolical *Malice*.

The noble Historian before-mentioned, says, " He defended himself at his Trial with great and " undaunted Courage, and less Passion than was " ex-



“ expected from his Constitution ; he answered  
 “ all their Objections with Clearness and irre-  
 “ sistible Reason, and convinced all impartial  
 “ Men of his Integrity, and his Detestation of  
 “ all Treasonable Intentions ; so that tho’ few  
 “ excellent Men have ever had fewer Friends to  
 “ their Persons, yet all reasonable Men absolv’d  
 “ him from any foul Crime that the Law could  
 “ take Notice of and punish. However, when  
 “ they had said all against him they could, and  
 “ he all for himself that need to be said, and no  
 “ such Crime appearing as the Lords would take  
 “ upon them to judge him to be worthy of  
 “ Death for, they resorted to their Legislative  
 “ Power, and by Ordinance of Parliament, as they  
 “ called it, that is, by a Determination of those  
 “ Members who sat in the Houses (whereof in  
 “ the House of Peers there were not above  
 “ twelve) they appointed him to be put to Death,  
 “ as guilty of High Treason : The first time the  
 “ two Houses of Parliament had ever assumed  
 “ that Jurisdiction, or that ever Ordinance had  
 “ been made to such a Purpose ; nor could any  
 “ Rebellion be more against Law than that mur-  
 “ derous Act.

“ When his Tryal was over, and the Ordi-  
 “ nance passed for his Execution, and it was de-  
 “ manded of him, according to Custom, what  
 “ he could say why he should not suffer Death?  
 “ He said, he had the King’s Pardon ; which he  
 “ pleaded, and tendered to them, and desired it  
 “ might be allowed. Whereupon he was sent  
 “ to the *Tower*, and the Pardon read in both  
 “ Houses ; where, without any long Debate, it  
 “ was declared to be of no Effect, and that the  
 “ King could not pardon a Judgment of Parlia-  
 “ ment ; and so, without troubling themselves  
 “ any farther, they gave order for his Beheading,  
 “ which



“ which he underwent with all Christian Courage  
 “ and Magnanimity, to the Admiration of the  
 “ Beholders, and Confusion of his Enemies.” The  
 Person appointed to manage the Evidence against  
 him was Mr. *Prym*, one of the bitterest and most  
 inveterate Enemies that he had in the World; and  
 yet the good Archbishop’s Defence not only made  
 Mr. *Prym* ashamed of what he had done, but like-  
 wise to bestow as full and florid an Encomium  
 upon it, as the warmest Friend and greatest Ad-  
 mirer he had in the World could possibly have  
 done. In a Word, the passing the Ordinance for  
 his Execution was so odious an Act, that there  
 were but seven Lords present at the passing of it  
 in the Upper House of Parliament, viz. the Earls  
 of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury* and *Bullingbroke*,  
 and the Lords *North*, *Gray*, and *Bruce*, and his  
 Life was concluded with such a modest Confidence,  
 and so much Piety, that his greatest Enemies who  
 came to behold the Execution with Hearts full of  
 Joy, returned back with Eyes as full of Tears.

And after such barbarous Usage as this to an  
 ancient Man, who could not, according to the  
 Course of Nature, have lived many Years longer, to  
 say nothing of his being a Prisoner in the *Tower* no  
 less than four Years, and the sequest’ring of all  
 his Rents during that Time, and the seizing of all  
 his Books, Papers, and Goods, one would think  
 that the most savage Breast should have so much  
 Humanity as to think him sufficiently punished for  
 promoting a little Decency in Churches, and dis-  
 couraging a lewd and incontinent Life in the No-  
 bility and Gentry, as well as others. Neverthe-  
 less the Doctor’s severe and rude Treatment of his  
 Ashes is capable of this Alleviation, that the Zeal  
 which Archbishop *Laud* had for Christianity in ge-  
 neral, and the Church of *England* in particular,  
 was, in the Doctor’s Opinion, Bigottry, and his dis-

discountenancing the Sins of Uncleanneſs, no better than Perſecution. But as the Deifts of this Age declare themſelves of Opinion, that the moſt unnatural Luſts are, in *Foro Conſcientiæ*, no more criminal than a Child's eating of Dirt, Coals, Wheat, or Malt, the Doctor hath ſhewn a more than ordinary Propenſity to abuſe the Dead, by going as far as *Ireland* for ſomething to beſpatter the *Engliſh* Clergy with; tho' the Fact by him alledged, if allowed to be true, was, according to his Way of Thinking, not worth the mentioning.

The Caſe I am now hinting at, is that of Biſhop *Atherton*, which the Doctor makes a great Flourish with in one of his Libels againſt the Biſhop of *London*. It may not be amiſs therefore to obſerve, that the modeſt and virtuous Mr. *Curll* did, in the Year 1709, on the Backſide of the Paper called the *Tatler*, No. 119, vouchſafe to publiſh the following Adverſement.

“ This Day is publiſhed, The Caſe of *John*  
 “ *Atherton*, Biſhop of *Waterford* in *Ireland*, who  
 “ was convicted of the Sin of Uncleanneſs with a  
 “ Cow, and other Creatures, for which he was  
 “ hanged at *Dublin*, December 5, 1640. With a  
 “ full Account of his Behaviour after his Con-  
 “ demnation, and the Letters he ſent to his Wife  
 “ and two Daughters the Night before his Execu-  
 “ tion. To which is added, the Sermon preach'd  
 “ at his Funeral the Night after his Execution, in  
 “ *St. John's Church, Dublin*; with ſome farther  
 “ Account of his Life. The whole written by  
 “ by *Nicholas Barnard*, Dean of *Ardagh*, at the  
 “ Command of Archbiſhop *Uſher*, and to him de-  
 “ dicated. Printed for *E. Curll*, at the *Dial* and  
 “ *Bible*, againſt *St. Dunſtan's Church* in *Fleet-*  
 “ *ſtreet*; and ſold by *J. Harding*, at the Poſt-  
 “ Office in *St. Martin's-lane*. Price 1 s. And the  
 “ Lord *Audley's* Trial for Sodomy. Price 6 d.

But

But the Credit of Mr. *Curll's* Undertaking was entirely blasted by the next Paper of that kind that came out, for on the Back of it was advertised as follows ;

“ Whereas in a Pamphlet lately published, entitled, *The Case of Bishop Atherton*, it is said in the Preface, that he confessed the Crime for which he unjustly suffered : This is to assure all, who are desirous to know the Truth, that he constantly denied that foul Crime all along, and with his last Breath. And the chief Witness against him, who was afterwards hanged, confessed at the Gallows, That what he had sworn against the said Bishop was utterly false. And the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*, especially the Country wherein he lived, have ever since been, and are at this Day, possessed with an Opinion of his Innocence.

“ N. B. All who appeared against him came afterwards to disastrous Deaths. Any Person that hath a mind to be satisfied of the Truth of this, may enquire at the *Seneca's Head* near *Somerset-House* in the *Strand*.”

The Doctor was at this Time a constant frequenter of the *Græcian* Coffee-House, and never suffered any Paper or Pamphlet that was esteemed smart or polite to escape him ; and could not, humanly speaking, possibly be ignorant of this whole Affair. But this is the Candour and Modesty of those who are Adversaries to the Church of *England*. They print and reprint their scandalous Stuff to serve a Turn, without taking the least Notice of the full and sufficient Answers that have been made to it.

I think, Sir, I have by this Time said enough to open the Way to that which is the professed Design of this Letter ; tho' it is in my Power to say a great deal more, and shew with what Insolence  
and

and Scurrility he treats the Memories of *Moses* and the Prophets, of Christ and his Apostles, and the Ministers of our most Holy Religion, from the first Promulgation of the Gospel down to this present Age. But 'tis time, high time, to let you, and thro' you, the rest of the World know what a glorious Leader our modern Infidels have had at the Head of them; and indeed I cannot but wonder, that nobody, excepting a few Hints here and there in a Preface or two, hath undertaken so necessary a Piece of Work.

As long as a Writer keeps himself within the Bounds of Decency, the best, and indeed the only manly Way of answering him is to set Argument against Argument, without taking any Notice of the Person of the Opponent. But when Men give themselves the Liberty to let fly all the foul-mouth'd Slander, and malicious Falshoods that they can pick up, without any regard to Truth, Charity, or Good-Manners, 'tis absolutely necessary to inform the World from what Quiver these envenomed Arrows come. If from a suspected Papist, the less dangerous will they be to a Protestant Reader; if from one of known Immorality, the Good and Religious will have no regard to his Railings. The very knowing such a Writer will go a great Way towards the answering his Arguments of this kind.

The Doctor was born in the *West* of *England*, and was Uncle to the Rev. Mr. *Tindal*, the Translator of the History of Monsieur *Rapin Thoyras*: He was descended, for ought I know, of a very good Family, and Uncle to a Clergyman (against whom I never heard any Objection). At his first coming to *Oxford* he was entered at *Lincoln*, from whence he afterwards removed to *Exeter* College, which was the College that the *West* Country young Gentlemen generally resorted



to. From *Exeter* he was in the Year 1678, elected one of the Fellows of *All-Souls* College in *Oxford*; a College which, according to its original Institution, had always preserved an equal Mixture of the Gentleman and the Scholar, and was never till this Time, that I could ever hear, tainted with any such Heterodox Notions as the Doctor afterwards imbibed, and communicated by Way of Infection to some others of the Society.

The Doctor continued here for several Years without being taken Notice of for any thing particular, besides a sort of Canine Appetite, which sometimes occasion'd a good deal of real Mirth, and sometimes, when his Juniors were pretty sharp set, no more than the Shadow of it, with a just and well-grounded Indignation at the Bottom. This I presume was the Reason why a learned Gentleman, who hath very lately taken some Notice of him, tells those to whom he was addressing himself, that there was a Set of Men in the World, even in *St. Paul's* Days, who served, not our Lord *Jesus Christ*, but their own Bellies, and yet by good Words and fair Speeches deceived the Hearts of the Simple.

It will be answered, that this is a very silly Objection, and that it is not a Man's Fault, but either his Happiness or Unhappiness to have a good Stomach. And I reply, that this may be very true, and yet a modest and civilized Man would moderate a voracious Appetite, at least in publick, that he might not appear singular, and make himself, and the good Creatures of God, the Subjects of Banter and Ridicule. But to clear the Point, you are to observe, Sir, that the Fellows of *All-Souls* always dine, and *Sunday* and *Thursday* Nights sup, upon whole Dishes, such of them as are in College allowing equally for the Expence which those Dishes amount to above their stated Commons, so that



that the Doctor having but few Seniors, or else posting himself at one of the lower Tables, had the Privilege of helping himself either first, or before a great many others, and as the Phrase is of *cutting them out*; so that he hath many times left them but very little to do but to pick their Teeth, except the Dishes at the other Tables have happened to hold out so far as to afford them a Slice or two.

I saw him once in particular on a *Sunday* or a *Thursday* Night, I cannot say which, seat himself at the Batchelors Table; the Batchelor Fellows had at that Time but few of their Number in Town, and their Supper was a Neck of Veal of a tolerable Size, and very sufficient for as many moderate Men as were appointed to eat of it; it was the Doctor's Turn, on the Account of his Degree, to help himself first, and accordingly he did it to some Purpose, and with a Witress, cutting off all the best Part of it, and putting it on his Plate, where he picked the Bones till there was not the least Appearance of a Bit of Meat or Membrane left, and leaving the poor young Gentlemen nothing but the serag End.

A facetious Gentleman who was just made actual Fellow, Mr. *West*, the now very worthy Minister of *Putney*, being at the lower End of the Company on one Side of the Table, and seeing how he was like to fare, called one of the Servitors to him, and giving him his empty Plate, speaks out with a loud Voice, in this manner, " Pray, Sir, be so kind as to give my humble Service to one of the Gentlemen at the Masters Table, and desire him to send me a Slice of Mutton; here's nothing to be had at this Table, we have got Dr. *Tindal* among us."

At another Time, the Doctor being by Accident Senior of the Hall, and a Pig being carried to the Head Table by his Order, in Pursuance of his Privilege,

vilege, as Governor of the Society then present, in the Absence of the Sub-Warden, the rest of the Fellows at that Time in Commons, shifted for themselves at the other Tables, and left him to dine by himself.

Before the Hall rose, Mr. *Lloyd*, Brother to that unfortunate Gentleman who was stabbed about thirty Years ago by a *German* who had invited him to Dinner near *London*, and an unlucky Wag, goes up to him, and told him he was sorry to see that he had no Stomach. The Doctor answered with a Sigh, that he had not been well for some time, and alledged that for a Reason why he could not eat as he used to do; whereupon Mr. *Lloyd* took a Fork, and turning up the Skin which the Doctor had not touched, found it to be no more than a Covering to two Heaps of Bones very cleanly picked. Pray, Gentlemen, says Mr. *Lloyd* to the rest of the Fellows, be so kind as to come hither, and see what a Rogue of a Manciple we have got here, and what an impudent Trick he hath put upon the Doctor; he hath sent him up the Skin and Bones of a Pig only, and compelled him to dine with *Duke Humphry*. Upon this the upper Part of the Hall was full both of Company and Mirth, and the Doctor took his Hat, and with a God damn-ye or two, left them to their further Diversion.

This Method of spunging upon, and eating up other People, not only once or twice or so, which might pass for Frolick and Humour, but whensoever he had Opportunity, which was as soon as he had any Number of Juniors, shewed a poor scoundrel Spirit, as well as a Disregard to common Honesty, and especially when he grew to be both old and rich. For tho' the Fellows of *All-Souls* are generally Gentlemen of the best Families, yet they are very often younger Brothers, or young Gentlemen whose Fathers are alive, and are there-  
fore,

fore, perhaps, at best but moderately provided for, considering the expensive Way of Living which hath long prevailed among the Members of that College. And besides this, altho' a Doctor's Fellowship, and indeed a Master's, be a pretty annual Income, yet that of a Batchelor of Arts, or an Undergraduate, is but small; and therefore if the Doctor's ungodly Carcase could not be satisfied without an uncommon Quantity of Food, yet I know of no Reason that can be assign'd either from the Christian Religion, or that of Nature, for compelling other People in such a rude brutal manner to be at the Expence of it. No Man can be guilty of such a Practice that is not a Man of no Principle, and void of the very lowest Degrees of what we call Civil and Humane.

In this manner, I say, the Doctor lived after he was made Fellow of *All-Souls*, distinguished by nothing but the Insatiableness of his Belly, till the Reign of King *James* the Second. That little Learning which he had got in his younger Days was not only not improved, but almost lost: Tho' to do him Justice, he was a Man of good tolerable Second-rate Parts.

Mr. *John Silk*, one of the Servitors of *All-Souls*, and the Doctor's *Amanuensis* when he wrote his famous Book, entitled, *The Rights of the Christian Church*, &c. of which I shall speak more at large hereafter, was a very studious Lad, and being afterwards preferred to a small Living in *Devonshire*, was there taken Notice of as a Man of great and universal Learning. This Gentleman not only gave this Character of him; but for the Truth of what he asserted, appealed, in my Hearing, to the 101st Page of the said Book, where, said he, is a little *Greek*, and some doubt arising about the accenting of it, it remains unaccented to this Day. This little Scrap is not taken from the Original,  
but

from a loose Writer of the last Age, and the Words of it are, *Και μετα τ' θανάτων αλυσί εν τω νυν αιώνι και εν τω μελλόντι και τυμπανικοί.*

The transcribing this Book three times was a very disagreeable Task to Mr. *Silk*, but being at that time under Obligations to the Doctor, who was his Countrymen, for some little Favours, such as stipulating for his Battles, &c. it was not easy for him to avoid it. These Things were at that Time necessary to be done by somebody, but the Doctor did not run any Hazard for him; which I take Notice of, lest I should be suspected of charging him with a good Action. Nevertheless, Mr. *Silk* never took upon him to correct his Blunders, or to make good his Deficiencies, and therefore did not interpose in this great Piece of Criticism, which hardly the most thick-skull'd School-Boy could be puzzled at. In a Word, Mr. *Silk*, who knew him the best of any body, declared, that his whole Stock of Learning was no more than the Gleanings of a few modern Books, and a great many Pamphlets; especially such as had been written against the Church of *England*, and a Common-place Book of whatever he had heard from any Man in Conversation that had the Luck to please his Fancy.

Notwithstanding this great Worthlessness and Want of Merit, the Doctor was not without a most restless Ambition to raise himself in the World, and to be pointed at with a *Dicier hic est*; or, *There goes the Man*.

As to his Religion, he was, till that unfortunate Prince before-mentioned begun his ridiculous Attempts to subvert our Constitution, at least in Profession, a Zealous, or, as the modish Phrase for some time hath been, a High, Church Man; that is, till he was betwixt Thirty and Forty Years of Age. But having no Hopes of doing himself  
any



any Service by honest and direct Means, he came to the same Resolution with *Juno* in the Seventh Book of *Virgil's Æneids*,

*Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo.*

Which is as much as to say, *If I can get no Assistance from Heaven, I'll try what Friendship I can meet with from Hell.* For when Popery was become the Religion of the Court, and King *James* was endeavouring to bring it into the University of Oxford with a very high Hand, our worthy Doctor abjured the Protestant Faith and Communion, under the Name of Heresy, and that too merely out of Hopes of Preferment.

There was no Danger of his losing his Fellowship, for it was not as yet his Turn to suffer, neither had the Society he belonged to any Contest with the King, like that which they had at *Magdalen College*. His Majesty had a Design indeed to obtrude a Warden upon them, but this never proceeded so far as to cause such a Struggle as there was in the Case before-mentioned; and if it had, there was no occasion for the Fellows immediately to turn Papists to skreen themselves from Expulsion. The Fellows of the other College, with whom the King acted in so arbitrary a manner, might have saved themselves, for the present at least, from the Effects of his Majesty's Resentment, with no more than a bare Compliance with the single Order of submitting to his Mandamus relating to the Choice of a President. But supposing it his Majesty's full Resolution to have expelled by Degrees every Protestant Head and Fellow of a College in both Universities; nay, supposing that it had been actually put to the Doctor's Choice, whether he would quit his Fellowship, or change his Religion, which Way, for God's Sake, ought an



an honest and sincere Man to act? And what are we to think of that Man's Integrity, whose only Principle is his Interest? Surely such a Man hath a very poor Title to be heard, when he sets himself up for a Guide to other Mens Consciences, in Opposition to those who are regularly appointed for that Business, and when he falls into a Fit of Raving against the Selfishness and corrupt Disposition of the Clergy.

But tho' the critical Time of the Doctor's Conversion doth sufficiently point out the true and real Motives that induc'd him to turn Papist, yet he was by no Means willing to have it believed, that he was either bribed by his Hopes, or awed by his Fears; but, as a reverend and worthy Dignitary hath assured me, he hath, in one or other of his Pieces, asserted, that he was naturally led into this Error by the Principles of High Church; which ridiculous and scurrilous Assertion is hardly worth considering. Nevertheless I should be glad to be informed by any of the Doctor's implicit Followers, what High-Churchmen ever acknowledged the Pope's Supremacy, or his, or the Church's being infallible? What High-Churchmen hold, or ever did hold, the Doctrines of Transubstantiation, the Adoration of Saints, Images and Reliques, the Seven Sacraments, Purgatory, Indulgencies, Prayers and Masses for the Dead, Prayers in an unknown Tongue, Communion in one kind, the locking up the Scriptures from the Laity, Pilgrimages, the Merit of Good Works, the Vertue of Holy Water, and the Truth of the Popish Legends, and Miracles which are daily pretended to be wrought in the Church of *Rome*, together with the Reasonableness of retaining that troublesome Load of superstitious and stupid Ceremonies with which its Worship is incumbered? And if no one Error of the Church of *Rome*; that is, no one Principle or

Pract<sup>ce</sup>

Practice of the Papists, which is controverted betwixt them and Protestants, can be charged upon any considerable Number of them ; if it shall appear, that the Divines of the Church of *England*, when the Doctor made Shipwreck of his Faith, did, without any regard to the senseless Distinction of High Church and Low Church, make a bold and resolute Stand against Popery ; and if they still shew themselves of the same Temper, I can't see how his Disciples can bring him off from the Imputation both of Knave and Fool, for changing his Religion to get Preferment, and making such a silly Apology for so doing.

The Divines who engaged against Popery a little before the Revolution, were *Tillotson*, *Stillingfleet*, *Tennison*, and *Patrick* ; *Sherlock*, *Williams*, *Clagget*, *Gee*, *Aldrich*, *Sharpe*, *Atterbury*, *Whitby*, *Hooper*, and *Wake*. Some of these, as well as some of the Bishops who were sent to the *Tower* with Archbishop *Sancroft* at the Head of them, are reckoned among the Number of High-Churchmen ; and the learned and ingenious Dr. *Trapp* hath of late Years made a very good Figure in Controversy against the Papists.

This worthy Gentleman was presented with his Doctor of Divinity's Degree, for his great and eminent Service to the Protestant Cause, by the University of *Oxford*, that High-Church, High-flying University. And I cannot but reflect with Comfort, that when Popery hung over them like a dismal and dark Cloud, threatening Persecution to all who would not renounce the Protestant Religion, none of them that were in Orders, excepting a few, who were thought to have been that way inclined for several Years before, and therefore were marked out for dissembling Hypocrites, such as *Obadiab Walker*, Master of University College, and Mr. *Stone*, of *New-Inn-Hall* ; and none of the

Laity, excepting a few infamous Wretches, such as Dr. *Tindal* and Mr. *Farmer*, complied with the Iniquity of the Times.

Mr. *Farmer* was a notorious Debauchee, and the Person nominated by King *James*, in his first Mandamus, to fill the vacant Presidentship of *Magdalen* College, but rejected by the College; and upon a Representation of his lewd Life and avow'd Time-serving, dropt by the Court. And when Dr. *Parker*, Bishop of *Oxford*, was nominated by a second Mandamus, in Defiance of the Statutes of the College, and the Laws of the Land; and, in Pursuance of that arbitrary dispensing Power, which was to have destroyed our Religious and Civil Rights, the very *Demys*, or Scholars; that is, such young Gentlemen as were of Course to fill up the vacant Fellowships, chose rather to quit their present Possessions and future Expectations, than violate their Consciences and betray their Trust.

Such as shewed themselves so great Lovers of this present World, as to serve Mammon rather than their God, were justly made the Butt and Sport of the Wits and Wags of the University, and the Jest and Scorn of the serious and grave Part of it; and this, without doubt, gave occasion to all that dull *Billingsgate* which is to be met with in the Doctor's famous Book of the Rights, &c. in which he is very angry, that the University had never recanted, that is, in Form, (for he can mean nothing else) that Decree which was made in the Year 1683, when, in all probability, the Majority of those that made it were either dead or removed into other Stations of Life: For who knows not what an Alteration the Space of Twenty Years makes in such a flux Body? Whereas the worthy Doctor himself was called upon in Print in the Year 1708, to shew *How* and *When* he had again embraced the Reformed

Reformed Religion, and renounced the idolatrous Errors of the Church of *Rome*. But *How* or *When* this was done, tho' the Doctor is but lately dead, continues, for ought I can find, a Secret to this very Day. O the Benefit and Assistance of a Forehead made of *Corinthian* Brass!

The Furioufness and Weakness of King *James*, and his infatuated and wicked Counsellors, having soon made the three Kingdoms too hot to hold them, the Doctor's new Religion was as soon out of Fashion. To return to the Church of *England* with any Shew of Zeal and Sincerity, he knew was in vain; his being a Deserter on so base a Principle, could not fail of procuring him a very cold Reception, and occasion a constant Jealousy, that the next favourable Opportunity would tempt him to play the *Judas* the second time. His shameful going over to the Enemy's Quarters, with no other Success than a foul Blot upon his Character, which could never be got out, had therefore a quite different Effect upon him from what it ought to have had upon an ingenuous Mind; that is, to take Shame upon one's self, and ask Pardon both of God and Man. He therefore, in outward Shew, conformed to the Church of *England*, for thus much the keeping of his Fellowship required of him; and he was not so angry with Universities neither, notwithstanding the many scandalous and abusive Things which he hath said of them, as to throw it up, but continued to eat the Founder's Bread to the last Moment of his Life.

But from this time forward no Expressions, no Signs of Zeal, were heard or seen, and he came to the Chapel just often enough to save his Distance, and no oftner. In short, the Seeds of Infidelity, which Mr. *Hobbs's* Disappointments had caused him to sow, were now growing up into a plentiful Crop; and his Doctrines being become the Fa-



shion among too many of the Nobility and Gentry, who were desirous to be set free from the Restraints and Fetters of Religion, as they esteemed them, the Doctor resolved to be *Alamode*, and to cultivate and improve what Mr. *Hobbs* and his Disciples had begun. And therefore he turned downright *Atheist*; tho' he was desirous, that the Generality of Mankind should imagine he had stopt short at *Deism*; but he was too reserved and cunning to profess himself a *Deist* in an explicit and open manner.

His Profession was only to be collected from some heterodox and profane Expressions, and the Tendency of his avowed Principles and Practices, whilst he awkwardly sheltered himself under the sacred and abused Name of a Christian.

Deism, or Natural Religion, supposes the Being of a God, with all the Attributes ascribed to him by the Christian Religion, as those Unbelievers who are endeavouring to beat down the latter do and must, as long as they declare for Deism, and talk and write consistently, not only acknowledge, but advance further, and assign this for a Reason of their propagating their Notions, that 'tis their Duty to find out and to publish what is pleasing to God, that both themselves and others may be able to put it in Practice.

If therefore we are so charitable as to suppose, that the Doctor was no more than a Deist, and that he was really such, yet is not the very outward joining in a Worship, which, according to his Principles, is false and superstitious, a prevaricating with God, and putting Tricks upon Men? If the Clergy, notwithstanding their great Skill in distinguishing, could have allowed themselves in such pitiful and low Arts of Dissimulation (what if I call it *Jesuitism*?) a great many of them might have escaped the Fire and a Prison, and those  
other



other Persecutions, which the furious and blind Zeal of their Enemies induced them to lay upon them. I have several times received the Sacrament with him myself, and I could never see but that he received it with the same external Shews of Decency that others did. Thus far he went in Compliance with the Statutes of the College, and in Good-Manners to the Congregation. But the Society would have been more obliged to him if he would have resigned what he could not keep upon the Conditions it was conferred on him; for evading of Laws and Statutes is the worst Way of breaking them; and if his Behaviour without Doors, in relation to the Blessed Sacrament, had been, at least, as decent as that within: But his calling it Conjuraton and the Grace-Cup, and the Offertory only paying his Club, is such a shocking Piece of Rudeness, as no modest Infidel would be guilty of. If the Sincerity of our Unbelievers be so great, that they dare not even to hide or conceal their Principles; it must certainly follow, that they never ought to dissemble them upon any Account whatsoever.

'Tis in vain to alledge, that there can be no Dissimulation as long as repeated Intimations are given, that their Compliance with such Acts of Religion, as the Law hath made necessary, is only for Forms Sake, and that they mean no more by it than by complying with the common Forms of Visiting: Because those Intimations, whether given by Books, or otherwise, fall among the Learned only, or among them chiefly, and such as themselves (the Unbelievers) or the Learned, converse with, but rarely reach the Ears of the common People; who, as long as they see our great Wits give themselves the Air of humble Christians, take Jest for Earnest, and are thereby encouraged to continue in the Relief of what their

Bibles

Bibles and their Priests have told them. Even about such a Place as *All-Souls* College, there are so many Servants belonging to the College in general, and to the Warden and Fellows, besides such others as take Care of the Rooms and Beds, and their Children and Assistants, that generally spend the whole Day, and some Part of the Night, in College, that it is a Matter of some Consequence, whether these poor People be misled in the great Affair of Religion. And I could never find, that above one of these, who was particularly trusted by the Doctor, had any tolerable Notion of the Reasons why his Name had made so great a Noise and Disturbance in the World. And even this Person dared not to talk freely of the Doctor, or any of the Fellows, except he were in Gentlemen's Company, who wanted to gratify their Curiosity in relation to the Doctor's Amours and natural Children, of which he was capable of giving a very ample and satisfactory Account.

When I see an Infidel in a Church or Chapel, and even at the Communion Table, to qualify himself for the Taking or Holding a Place or Employment, I can't forbear coupling him with those honest Men the *Gnosticks*, who, as *St. Epiphanius* tells us, made it lawful for Men, in Case of Persecution, to forswear their Religion; alledging, that it was casting of Pearl before Swine to expose themselves to Danger before the Heathen Governors. But what Need is there of many Words, since he expressly owns such Compliances to be unlawful\*? But it will be said, perhaps, that I am rash and uncharitable in charging the Doctor with Atheism, which is the Complex of all Villany whatsoever; since he not only acknow-

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\* See *The Rights*, &c. p. 235.

ledges a God in his Writings, but speaks of him with Reverence, and with as great a Degree of it too, as the most pious Christian can possibly do. And therefore I observe, that when it serves his Turn, he likewise gives himself the Air of a Christian, and is not ashamed to pretend to a Respect for the Clergy of the Church of *England*; that is, such of them as disowned all Independency of the Church upon the State. There is, God be thanked, but a very small Number of these; and these too have seen by this Time how far this worthy Doctor esteems them. But to come to the Point; Whosoever will give himself the Trouble to look into the Memoirs of the late famous Earl of *Rocheſter*, written by Bishop *Burnet*, will find, that the Deism of those Times, in which the Doctor received his Taint, was downright Atheism, or very little short of it.

“ As to the Supreme Being, saith the Bishop,  
 “ he (the Earl) had always some Impression  
 “ of one; and professed often to one, that he  
 “ had never known an entire Atheist, who fully  
 “ believed there was no God. Yet when he  
 “ explained his Notion of this Being, it amounted  
 “ to no more than a vast Power, that had none  
 “ of the Attributes of Goodness or Justice, we  
 “ ascribe to the Deity: These were his Thoughts  
 “ about Religion, as himself told me. For Morali-  
 “ ty, he freely owned to me, that tho’ he talked of  
 “ it, as a fine Thing, yet this was only because he  
 “ thought it a decent Way of speaking; and that  
 “ as they (himself and Companions) went always  
 “ in Cloaths, though in their Frolicks they would  
 “ have chosen sometimes to have gone naked, if  
 “ they had not feared the People; so tho’ some of  
 “ them found it necessary for human Life to talk  
 “ of Morality, yet he confessed they cared not for  
 “ it

“ it further than the Reputation of it was necessary  
 “ for their Credit and Affairs.” P. 27, 28.

Mr. *Parsons*, in his Sermon preached at the Funeral of this Noble Person, tells us, that, among other great Impieties for which his Spirit was wounded, and his Conscience was full of Terrors, this was one, which he gives us in his Lordship's own Words.

“ One Day, at an Atheistical Meeting, at a  
 “ Person of Quality's, I undertook to manage the  
 “ Cause, and was the principal Disputant against  
 “ God and Piety, and for my Performances received the Applause of the whole Company.”  
 P. 23.

And in his Declaration recited in the same Sermon, p. 32. he warns all those whom he had drawn into Sin by his Example and Encouragement, in the Name of God, and as they regarded the Welfare of their immortal Souls, no more to deny his Being or his Providence. This unfortunate Nobleman died in the Year 1680; and, alas! it appears but too plainly, that his Conversion had not that Effect which all good Men hoped for and expected.

Bishop *Burnet* tells us, p. 110. of the Book before-mentioned, “ that to defeat the good Ends of  
 “ Divine Providence by it upon others, as well as  
 “ on himself, it was given out, that it was Part of  
 “ his Disease, and that the Lowness of his Spirits  
 “ made such an Alteration in him, that he was  
 “ not what he had formerly been; and that some  
 “ carried the Matter so far as to say, that he died  
 “ mad.” And in the next Page he says, — “ It  
 “ is to be feared, that some may have so far  
 “ feared their Consciences, and exceeded the  
 “ common Measures of Sin and Infidelity, that  
 “ neither his Testimony, nor one coming from the  
 “ Dead, would signify much towards their Con-  
 viction.



“viction. That this Lord was either mad or  
 “stupid, is a thing so notoriously untrue, that it  
 “is the greatest Impudence for any that were  
 “about him to report it; and a very unreason-  
 “able Credulity in others to believe it.”

From hence it appears, what the Principles of the fine Gentlemen, who affected to be called Deists, were in and after the Year 1680, and the Doctor's Attachment to these Miscreants must be dated from the Revolution, which happened about eight Years after. And 'tis very well known in the University of *Oxford*, that the Doctor, tho', generally speaking, very shy and reserved, would, in some Company, acknowledge the Being of a God, and urge the Creation as a Proof of it; and yet, how monstrous soever it may appear to others, speak very doubtfully of the Interposition of Providence.

In Companies where he thought he was certain he could make free, he used to endeavour to make the Notion of a God ridiculous. He used to argue upon this Head in the following manner: There can't be two Infinities. Which, in a certain Sense that will soon be explained, is readily granted. And having laid down this as an indisputable Maxim, he went on to observe, that the Notion which we had of God was, that he was an Infinite Being; and that if any such Being were supposed, it must follow, that there must be Infinite Space for him to be or subsist in; and then it must follow, that there were two Infinities, which, he said, was a Contradiction. In this silly sophistical manner did this vain Man endeavour to argue the Almighty out of his Existence.

But here lies the Fallacy, pitiful as it is; Space is obtruded upon as a *Being*, whereas, when applied to Almighty God, it is only a Mode or Attribute. A Man might as well make Infinite

Mercy, or Infinite Justice, or any other Attribute of the Godhead, an Argument that there is no God, as Infinite Space. Which is what the Naturalists call a *Vacuum* or *Void*; that is, nothing in itself but Room to contain whatsoever it shall please God to place in it, as he hath the Heavens and the Earth, and whatsoever belongs to them since the Beginning of the Creation.

I do not tell you, Sir, that the Doctor did professedly, and in a blunt manner, endeavour to prove there was no God; no, Sir, even Dr. *Tindal* was not arrived to such a consummate Pitch of Impudence. The Motions of this sort of Wretches are always serpentine and indirect; and as they endeavour to undermine this Church in particular, and Christianity in general, under Pretence of defending both, so they endeavour to infect us with Atheism before we perceive it; and undertake to confirm us in it, by convincing us, that there is a God. For having owned a God, and, what is more, having proved that there is one too, in order to take off from the shocking Opinion which we have of Atheism, they go on and describe that God which they have before acknowledged, and thereby leave us nothing to fear but human Laws, and natural and accidental Misfortunes; and nothing to worship, without being guilty of the most stupid Idolatry. For their God is at last the famous  $\tau\acute{o} \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ; or, the Universe; or, as they sometimes express themselves, one only extended or material Substance differently modified. This Hypothesis is the Ground, the Foundation, the Basis, the single Point, upon which both the ancient and modern Atheism stands. In a Word, Sir, the Doctor's Atheistical Principles were so well known in College, that he could bear to be reproach'd for them in publick Company, without the least Appearance of Resentment.

The

The Day on which we comemorate the Munificence of our pious Founder, is *All-Souls Day*, or the next Day after the *Feast of All-Saints*. This is our Grand Gaudy, or Feast-Day, when all the Society is together, and a great many Gentlemen from other Colleges and out of the Country, are invited to dine with us. Upon one of these Days a Stranger that sat at the Table where the Doctor was, happened in the Heat of his Discourse to let fly an Oath, for which he was rebuked by one of the Fellows in the following manner: *Pray, Sir, don't swear; here's Dr. Tindal, who does not believe in God, and he'll be affronted.* To which the Doctor made no Reply.

He was not, to do him Justice, so unmannerly as to be constantly obtruding his Notions upon other People; neither did he seem to be over-busy in his Endeavours to make Profelytes, which appears since to be nothing but Art, for People are not to be teized out of their Opinions; and a wrangling disputatious Humour in Conversation makes Men more tenacious of their Opinions than they otherwise would be.

But how zealous he really was for the Devil's Interest, may be seen by his continuing to scribble for him, even to his last Gasp. I thank God he made but few Converts in the College; I think their Number was but four.

The first that I shall mention is *Sedgwick Harrison*, Doctor of Civil Law, and late Professor of History in the University. This Man's Principles and Morals were indeed as bad, if not worse, than *Dr. Tindal's*. But it must be confessed, that tho' his Learning was slight and superficial, yet he was really a Man of Parts, Wit and Humour; and his Conversation was very agreeable, if it may not be said, that he laughed too soon and too loud at his own Jest. This Gentleman went one Day, with some

others, to wait on Dr. *Tindal*, who was then in a very ill State of Health. Doctor, your humble Servant, saith the Professor, at his first Entrance into the Chamber, we are come to see how you do. Pray how is it with you? I thank you, Sir, reply'd the Doctor, for your kind Visit; and as to my Health, I believe I am a dying Man. Are you, Sir, said Dr. *Harrison*, and what do you think will become of you? Why you'll as certainly be damn'd as you are now alive. Upon this the Doctor imagined, that such as were indeed his Disciples, only pretended to be so by Way of Sneer and Banter, and was really in as great an Agony, as the Jayler in the *Acts of the Apostles*, when he cry'd out to St. *Paul* and *Silas*, Chap. xvi. ver. 30. "Sirs, *What must I do to be saved?*" He was in the utmost Terror to think, that he must soon appear before that God, whom he had so outrageously offended. But instead of recommending Faith and Repentance, *Harrison* fell a laughing at him, as a poor pusillanimous old Wretch, that was afraid of his own Shadow. And I could never hear for certain, that he had the least Inclination towards Repentance afterwards. I have been credibly informed indeed, that Dr. *Dodd*, a very sober, and pious, and worthy Physician, formerly one of the Fellows of the College, told him, that he would certainly recant before he died; and that a dangerous Fit of Sicknefs would furnish him with a new Set of Principles. To which he answered, that he desired the Doctor to be with him, if possible, when he made his *Exit*; and, if he were in his right Senses, he should hear him persist in the Principles he then professed, with his last Breath. Whether the Doctor attended him or not, I cannot say; neither can I report any thing certain concerning his Behaviour in his last Sicknefs: What I have met with was from a Person of Quality,



lity, of an advanced Age, who said, he was informed, he departed with a sort of a Prayer or Ejaculation, in these Words, *If there be a God, I desire him to have Mercy upon me,* Which Account, if true, is some Proof, that Dr. Dodd was not altogether mistaken in his Guesses; and might serve as a Check to those deluded Followers of his, who are as yet alive and in Health, and have Time and Opportunity to reconcile themselves to God, by a hearty, and sincere, and publick Repentance. But what I quoted before, out of Bishop Burnet, in relation to my Lord Rochester, is a common Case. This sort of Men comfort themselves always with a Piece of Cant, which runs through the whole Fraternity, *That no Heed is to be given to the Words of dying Men;* and yet very often squeek (as the Phrase is) when it comes to be their own Turn. Contemptible Instances of Folly and Obduration! like Oliver's Judges, who betrayed a Want both of Honesty and Courage, and wanted the latter, because they were destitute of the former. But to proceed:

Another of the Doctor's Disciples was a young Barrister at Law, of excellent Parts, and great Abilities, in the Way of his Profession, whose Learning was as deep as the Doctor's was shallow, and to whom the Doctor was thought to be very much beholden, when he was compiling the famous Book of *The Rights*, &c. His Father was an Ornament to the Bench, and he himself was, in all other Respects besides his pernicious Principles, a Credit to the Bar. But the best things corrupted become the worst. Nevertheless, in pity to his tragical End, for he fell by his own Hands, a little before Autumn, in the Year 1712; and in respect to his Relations, I spare the mentioning of his Name.

The third Man suspected, was likewise one of the long Robe: His defending one of the Doctor's beloved Vices in publick Company, and doing a little waspish Thing by a Gentleman, who was produced as a Witness against him, gave the Handle for this Suspicion. But as he is still alive, as he really is one of the compleatest Gentlemen for Temper, Candour, Generosity and Good-Nature, that ever my Eyes beheld; and, as I hope, that the Grace of God, and good Arguments, having so good a Disposition to work upon, have, by this time, altered his Sentiments, no more shall be said of him in this Place.

The fourth is, that poor, troublesome, uneasy Creature, who was said to be the natural Offspring of a certain noble Peer, now in Exile. Of this Man I could say a great deal, if 'twas worth saying; but as he hath been a great many Years at the Bottom of the Sea, 'tis not worth my while to bring him any further than the Surface of the Water. Mere Contempt would have prevailed on me to pass him by, if he had not had the stupid Folly, and unparallel'd Impudence, to compare *The Rights*, &c. to the Bible. When that scandalous Book was ordered to be burnt, he flew into a Passion, and said, He wondered what they would burn next, except they burnt the sacred Book before mentioned. Which was taken Notice of by one of the young Gentlemen the next *Saturday*, in a Delamation in these Words; — *Et quosdam cognovimus Atheos qui post dira Ecclesiae fura sacras tantum superesse literas flammis tradendas dicunt*; which, excepting the putting the Plural Number instead of the Singular, is a Recital of our spurious young Nobleman's Speech.

This leads me to speak a little more at large of this Book, which I have already, and so often, had occasion to mention. The Doctor was observed

served to be more than ordinarily busy, and perceiving that the Society were desirous to know what he was about, he gave us to understand, that he was preparing a Book for the Press, which was to sap the very Foundations of the Church of *England*, and what not. It was soon found out, that tho' the Doctor was to work up the Materials which this terrible Piece was to consist of, yet a great many of these were supplied by others in *Oxford*, and *London*, and even *Holland*; which is the Reason why one of his Adversaries calls him, *Legion Sir*. It was a long time before this abandoned Club of Deists, or Atheists, could agree what to publish; a great many things were dash'd out, and others inserted; and, as I intimated before, Mr. *Silk* (for I had it from his own Mouth) transcribed it from the Doctor's Copy three times: In the mean time, a great many Journies were taken to *London*; and after the Book was finished, which was to destroy our Spiritual *Babylon*, as they no less foolishly than impudently style the Church of *England*, it was a long time before they could agree upon a Title; which at last was drawn up, as it now stands, in the Language of *Judas* to our Blessed Saviour in the Garden, when he betrayed him to his Persecutors, with *Hail, Master*, and a Kiss. Mr. *Silk* told me moreover, that the Book and Preface, if taken to Pieces, was nothing but a Farrago, or Collection, out of such loose Pamphlets, as one abandoned and malicious Scribbler or other had wrote against this Church; and that, in the Space of a few Weeks, he could easily give every Bird his own Feather. He observed likewise, with a great deal of Justice, that they had all of them been solidly and sufficiently answered; and that the Doctor and his Friends had been so disingenuous as to take no Notice of those Answers. And Dean *Hicks* tells us, that the Reader will find

a full Answer to this Book in 116 small Octavo Pages, of the first Part of a Book printed at London, in the Year 1681, intitl'd, *The Case of the Church of England*, by S. P. that is, above 20 Years before it was in being. Answer to the *Rights*, &c. p. 9, and p. 137, the Dean makes the very same Complaint that Mr. *Silk* has, — “ I cannot but observe, saith he, for the Honour of this worthy Author, that it is one of his fraudulent Practices to write after, and out of other Books, that have been already confuted, without taking Notice of the Answers to them, as I shall hereafter shew.”

The Dean had just before detected him in stealing a great Part of a Book, intitl'd, *The Principles of the Protestant Religion explained*, in a Letter of Resolution to a Lady, which was fully refuted in a Book, intitl'd, *The Necessity of Church Communion*. Printed by A. and J. Churchill, 1705.

The Preface to *The Rights*, &c. is an Attempt to prove the King's Supremacy in all Causes, Ecclesiastical as well as Civil, according to the Laws of this Realm. And this the Doctor knew, that Archbishop *Laud* himself, and all the Clergy of the Church of England, did always allow and subscribe to, and indeed plead for. The Archbishop says, in his Book against *Fisher*, p. 134, *That every Soul ought to be subject to the Higher Power*, Rom. xiii. And the Higher Power there mentioned is the Temporal, and that the ancient Fathers come in with a full Consent: That every Soul comprehends there, all without Exception; all Spiritual Men, even to the highest Bishop; and in Spiritual Causes too, so the Foundations of Faith and Good-Manners be not shaken: And where they are shaken, there ought to be Prayer and Patience, there ought not to be Opposition by Force.

Emperors



Emperors and Kings are *custodes utriusque Tabulae*. They to whom the Custody and Preservation of both Tables of the Law for Worship to God and Duty to Man are committed. A Book of the Law was by God's own Command in *Moses* his Time to be given the King, *Deut. xvii. 18.* The Kings under that Law, but still according to it, did proceed to necessary Reformati<sup>o</sup>ns in Church-Busi<sup>n</sup>esses; and therein commanded the very Priests themselves, as appears in the Acts of *Hezekiah* and *Josiah*, who yet were never censur'd to this Day for usurping the High Priest's Office. The greatest Emperors for the Church's Honour, *Theodosius* the Elder, and *Justinian*, and *Charles the Great*, and divers others, did not only meddle now and then, but did enact Laws to the great Settlement and Increase of Religion in their several Times, p. 134, 135. And notwithstanding our Author's malicious and wilful Misconstruction, p. 48, 49, the Archbishop asserted the very same Thing in the Star-Chamber at the Censure of *Bastwick*.

" Our being Bishops *jure divino*, by divine  
 " Right, takes nothing from the King's Right  
 " or Power over us. For though our Office be  
 " from God and Christ immediately, yet may we  
 " not exercise that Power, either of Order or Ju-  
 " risdiction, but as God hath appointed us; that  
 " is, not in his Majesty's or any Christian King's  
 " Kingdom, but by, and under the Power of  
 " the King given us so to do. " \*

But such a Supremacy as this will not serve the Doctor's Turn; he would have the Laws mean, that the King is in such a Case Supream;

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\* The Second Volume of the Remains of *William Laud*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Printed at London 1700, p. 68.

that the Clergy have their Orders from him as much as Civil and Military Officers have their Commissions, and that the former may be annulled at Pleasure, as well as the latter. And all this in Spite of the Thirty-seventh Article of our Church, which being Part of the Statute Laws of this Kingdom, and drawn up and confirm'd by Act of Parliament on purpose to put an End to the Disputes which had been upon this Head, one would have thought sufficient to explain the true Meaning of the Legislature : And so indeed it is to any fair and impartial Enquirer after Truth. “ The Queen’s Majesty, saith the Article, hath the Chief Power in this Realm of *England*, and other her Dominions unto whom the Chief Government of all Estates of this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all Cases doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be subject to any Foreign Jurisdiction. Where we attribute to the Queen’s Majesty the Chief Government, by which Titles we understand the Minds of some scandalous Folks to be offended ; we give not to our Princes the Ministring either of God’s Word or of the Sacraments, the which Thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by *Elizabeth* our Queen, do most plainly testify ; but that only Prerogative which we see to have been given always to all Godly Princes in Holy Scripture by God himself ; that is, that they should rule all Estates and Degrees committed to their Charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the Civil Sword the stubborn and Evil Doers. ”

The wily Doctor takes Notice of this in the Forty-third Page, but is so cunning as to express himself, not in the Language of the Article, but his

his own, which is neither as strong nor as clear as the Article itself.

“ In a Word, saith he, that the Clergy of the National Church have no independent Power (he means no Power but what they derive from the Prince) is so very plain from the Laws of the Land, that all which is pretended to the contrary is, that our Princes do not preach or administer the Sacraments, but that the Laws leave this in the National Church to the Clergy, exclusively of all others. ” And then he goes on to observe, “ That this does not prove that they are more independent than Lawyers, Physicians, and Men of other Professions and Employs, to whom the Laws allow the same Privilege; that they are like others, subject to the Laws in the Exercise of their Function; that the King can’t judge in Person, and yet all Judges derive their Commissions from him; and that Princes may, and have been of Old, by the Clergy themselves, termed *Pastores Pastorum, Episcopi Episcoporum, Pontifices Maximi, Vicarii Dei, &c.* ”

I answer therefore, that the Thirty-nine Articles are not only Part of our Laws, but likewise Articles of Religion; and what they declare, as to this Matter, is supposed to be founded upon the Word of God, or declarative of what Religion had determin’d antecedently to the Laws of the Land. The Compilers of the Articles have taken so much Care to be clear in this Matter, that the Doctor makes a very hard Shift to misunderstand them. He takes no Notice of that *Prerogative which we see to have been given always to all Godly Princes in Holy Scripture by God himself*, by which the Power of our Princes in Religious Matters is to be measur’d.

Did the Priests then under the *Mosaical* Dispensation derive their Priesthood from the Prince or Civil Power? One would think that the Case of King *Uzziah*, 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 16. &c. to say nothing of other Instances, is a sufficient Proof that there were Things which a Priest might do, and a King might not ; and that the Sacerdotal is not included in the Regal Office, nor derived from thence, but is of a distinct Nature and Institution.

As to the Titles which he saith the Clergy themselves have given to Princes, their having it in their Power to compel the Clergy to do their Duty, and to punish them if they do not, and to give Directions and enact Laws even in Ecclesiastical Affairs, and consequently to oversee the Bishops themselves, will very well justify those Titles or Compliments in a sober and qualify'd Sense. The Titles of Kings and other Great Men have so much of Flourish and Court Rhetorick in them, which though grounded upon very honest Rules of Policy, make but a poor Figure in a scholastick Disputation, in which we are or should be endeavouring to find out what is strictly and literally true.

It is not my Design, neither have I Room in this Letter, to take this pernicious and ungodly Book, *Of the Rights*, &c. to Pieces. This is the main Drift and Design of the Preface, and you see how easily 'tis overthrown I shall, however, single out a few of those notable Positions that are contained in it, and these, I will take care, shall be such as he was most concern'd to make out.

He attempts in his first Chapter to shew, That the Possibility of Two independent Powers in the same Society, is repugnant to the Nature of Things ; and by establishing of this Proposition, the



the Church of *England* is to be entirely blown up into the Air. But as terrible as he is in his Threatnings, I thank God he's very merciful as to his Proofs.

The first Thing that he lays down as a Maxim in this Case is absolutely false. "All independent Power, he says, must be Supream." But why so? The Parliament of *England* is an independent Power, and yet the King, another independent Power, is Supream.

His next Argument is as trifling, and equally contrary to Matters of Fact. "There can't be such Powers, because they may lay People under different Obligations, as it happened at *Edinburgh* 1581; the independent Kirk commanding a Fast on the same Day the King had obliged the Citizens to treat the Embassadors of the *French* King at a splendid Dinner."

The Doctor needed not to have gone beyond the *Tweed* for an Instance. Our own Nation hath supply'd us with one of much later Date. I mean, the memorable Clashing betwixt the two Houses of Parliament in the Year 1641. The Lords having in vain desired the Commons to join with them in a Declaration for the suppressing of Tumults occasioned by the cold Reception which the Bill for disabling all Persons in Holy Orders from exercising any Temporal Jurisdiction, met with in their Lordship's House, by the Advice of the Judges, appointed a Writ to be directed to the Sheriffs and Justices, upon divers Statutes, to suppress all tumultuous Resort; in Obedience to which, the Justices appointed the Constables and others to attend about *Westminster*, to hinder that unlawful Conflux of People which came thither to awe the Parliament: This was no sooner done, but the Constables and Justices of the Peace were sent for by the House of Commons, and

and the setting forth a Watch was voted to be a Breach of Privilege ; and before any Conference with the Lords, by whose Direction that Legal Writ issued out, the Watch were discharged, and one of the Justices, for doing his Duty according to that Writ, was sent to the Tower. Here are two independent Powers clashing and interfering with each other ; and yet they are still, and may they ever remain, two Excellent, August, and Blessed Branches of the Legislature. 'Tis true, indeed, that when two or more independent Powers, in the same Society, do not keep within their proper Bounds, such Inconveniencies as these must unavoidably arise : But then the Question is, Whether the Inconveniencies arising from an Arbitrary, Despotick Government be not greater ? If the Doctor's Disciples think not, they have mine, and, I believe, every honest Man's Consent, to cross the Water to such Places as have Governments adapted to their own Taste and Principles.

The People, when they are under such an Unhappiness as to be commanded one Way by one Power, and another Way by a Second, to say nothing of a Third, must undoubtedly be very much perplexed ; but there are Rules which will serve to guide every Good Man as far forth as is necessary, in Order to keep a good Conscience. As for Instance, when the Lords commanded one Thing, and the Commons another, such Persons as were affected by those different Commands ought to have enquir'd where the Truth and Law lay, and to have behav'd themselves accordingly. 'Tis likewise a good Rule, that the Command of an Inferior must, generally speaking, give Way to that of a Superior : And therefore, though the Kirk of *Scotland* should require the People to fast on the very Day which  
the

the Civil Power commands them to feast, the Civil Power is undoubtedly to be obey'd, as being the Higher Power, and acting within the Bounds of its Authority : But this gives the Civil Magistrate no Authority to invade the Offices of the Bishop and his Clergy, in such Cases as never were a Part of his Office or Commission. And upon this Foot we condemn such Bishops and others as leave their own Country in Disobedience to the known Prohibition of their Prince, in Order to meet at General Councils, and withal defend *Azariah* and his Fourscore Brethren for withstanding their King in his Sacrilegious Invasion of the Priest's Office ; and telling him, 'That it appertained not to him to burn Incense to the Lord, but to the Priests, the Sons of *Aaron*, who were consecrated for that Purpose, 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 18.

It may not be amiss, in this Place, to add a few Questions and Answers of the present Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in his Exposition or Commentary on the Church Catechism, p. 110.

“ Q. *What if the Civil Power shall command me to do that which is contrary to my Duty towards God ?*

“ A. I must in that Case obey God rather than Man, *Acts* iv. xix. v. 18, 29, 41. If for this I shall be punished, I must patiently yield to it, and glorify God, that he has thought me worthy to suffer for my Duty to him, *Exodus* i. 15, 17. *Dan.* iii. v. 14, 16, 17. *Chap.* vi. v. 6, 9, 10, 16.

“ Q. *What if any Difference should arise in the Commonwealth, of which I am a Member, between the Prince and the People ?*

“ A. I must carefully examine where the Right lies, and act so, as is most agreeable to the Rules

“ Rules of Religion first ; and (where they are  
 “ silent) to the Laws, and Constitution of the  
 “ State to which I belong. ”

These Rules of the Archbishop are equally applicable, whether the Dispute arise betwixt the Prince and his Ecclesiastical, or betwixt him and his Lay Subjects, for both of them are equally his People ; and the Doctor may as well argue, that all Property is in the Prince, as he may, that there cannot be any Power independent of him ; and the same Reasoning will make as good a Figure in one Case as in the other. Infinite have been the Struggles betwixt the Prerogative of the Prince, and the Liberty, Property, and Privileges of the Subject ; and when those Struggles have happened, a great many honest Men have been in Doubt which Way they were to act ; and yet, confounded be the Devices of the Man that endeavours to destroy either.

But if we were to grant that the Clergy have no Power, no Being as such, but what they depend upon the Prince for, yet one would think them pretty tolerably safe, as long as they have a Prince of their own Religion upon the Throne, if the Doctor and his Party, and all their Enemies, would abide by what he says, p. 21. where he grants, that the Civil Magistrate may appoint or ordain Ministers. And that nothing can be more absurd than to exclude him from a Right of authorizing Persons publickly to mind him of what he owes to his Subjects, and them of those Duties they are to render to him and one another, and the Motives and Reasons on which they are founded. But p. 24, he asserts, That all Men in forming themselves into Societies for the Worship of God are in a natural State, neither Prince nor Priest having any more Power over  
 the



the Peasant, than he has over either of them. And p. 14, he declares it to be such a Right as no human Power can deprive them of; and he talks in a sly Manner of defending it by Force of Arms. And p. 361, he makes Ordination to be no more than the Choice of the People; and asserts, That it doth naturally and of Course belong to them to chuse Ecclesiastical Officers: So that, according to this Doctrine, we have as many independent Powers as there are Men, Women and Children in the Kingdom. But to proceed; though the Power of making Canons be denied to the Clergy, yet as our Canons and other Ecclesiastical Laws have received the Sanction of the Civil Power, our Rites, and Ceremonies, and Church Discipline are as yet, God be thanked, secure, and are likely to remain so, even upon the Doctor's *Hypothesis* of the Impossibility of any more than one independent Power in the same Society, if those of the Doctor's Stamp would religiously adhere to it. But these Gentlemen mind Principles no further than they can do Mischief with them, and therefore are not to be pent up in this Manner.

The Doctor tells us, " 'Tis a grand Mistake " to suppose the Magistrate's Power extends to " indifferent Things, p. 15. " Notwithstanding Mr. *Silk's* Minority, and the Distance which is usually kept betwixt Fellows of Colleges and Servitors, he was so shock'd at this impudent and senseless Proposition, that he could not forbear entering into a Dispute with him, and alledging, That if the Magistrate had not a Power in indifferent Things, he could hardly perceive that he had any Power at all. For 'tis certain, that his Authority consists, for the most Part, in commanding Things indifferent, and that without a Right to command such Things, 'tis impossible any

Form of Government should be establish'd or preserv'd. And if Princes were only allow'd to command or forbid that which is in itself Good or Evil, they would do no more than apply and publish the Law of God; and there could be no Occasion for St. *Peter's* Exhortation, 1 *Pet.* ii. 13. Submit yourselves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's Sake, whether unto the King as Supream, or unto Governors as those who are sent by him.

Mr. *Silk's* Reasoning is very just and strong, for indeed he had a very clear rational Head, and had endeavour'd rather to improve his natural than to be a great Proficient in artificial Logick; and I have often heard him say, That the best Way, in Order to dispute well, was to read polemical or controversial Books. He had not only all the Casuists of any Note on his Side, but the Opinions of all Divines, and perhaps all Christians, down to our late unhappy Times of Enthusiasm and Confusion. And even then Bishop *Sanderfon* tells us, in his Sixth Lecture, he knew of but Two that were extravagant enough to be of the Doctor's Opinion. The Doctor was in Bed when this Dispute happened, and was at last driven by this shrewd and unexpected Opponent to this miserable Shift. *How like a Blockhead do you talk? If the Civil Magistrate should command me to rise with my Britch upwards, do you think I am obliged to obey him?* To which indecent and immodest *Argumentum a Posteriori*, Mr. *Silk* did not think it worth his while, as far as I could ever learn, to give an Answer. For when a Man endeavours to ridicule any Thing that is serious, he makes himself, and not the Argument ridiculous.

Mr.

Mr. *Silk* hath been dead about Fifteen Years. If he were now alive, a more particular Account of this Conference, than what he hath now and then dropt in publick Company, would be very entertaining; for he had a particular Knack of leading a bold forward Adversary a Dance, and making him ashamed of his Ignorance and Folly, without giving himself the Trouble to reason upon the Subject in Question. And when he had made it appear to the Company that he talk'd Nonsense by Mouthfuls, he used very often to speak to the Point in a very accurate, learned, and satisfactory Manner. But as the Matter now stands, we can only examine the Doctor's Reasoning, as 'tis contain'd in his Book, and in the Page already referred to.

In the preceding Paragraph, and several other Parts of his Book, the Doctor supposes the Magistrate to be no more than the Representative of the People, and denies him such and such Powers, because his Constituents could not be supposed to invest him with them. This being premised, we cannot mistake his Meaning, when he tells us, " That 'tis a grand Mistake to suppose that the Magistrate's Power extends to  
 " indifferent Things; for then he might deprive  
 " Men of all Liberty, and render his Power insupportable, in hindering them from managing  
 " their private and Family Concerns as they  
 " please; which they have not only a Right to  
 " do, but to form what Clubs, Companies, or  
 " Meetings they think fit, either for Business or  
 " Pleasure, which the Magistrate, as long as the  
 " Publick sustains no Damage, cannot hinder,  
 " without manifest Injustice, and acting contrary  
 " to the main End for which he was intrusted with  
 " Power, the Preservation of Mens Liberties in  
 " all such Things as could be done without De-

“ triment to the Publick. And therefore if Con-  
 “ science was not concerned about the Manner  
 “ of Worshipping God, the Magistrate could  
 “ have no Right to abridge Men of their Liber-  
 “ ty, &c. ”

In Answer to this wild Reasoning, 'tis suffici-  
 ent to observe, that he begs the Question all the  
 Way. The Original of Civil Government is a  
 Point, which, for Want of History, never was,  
 and never will be cleared; and the Doctor hath  
 only proved, that it might be by Compact; and  
 others have talked as plausibly upon the other  
 Hypothesis. Nor doth it follow, though we al-  
 low of the Doctor's, or, as it is in Truth Mr.  
*Hobbes's* Notion as to this Particular; neither can  
 it be proved that the first Institutors of Political or  
 Civil Government were cautious and politick  
 enough to clog their intended Governor with  
 such Limitations and Restraints, as the Doctor  
 takes for granted they did. Nor is it a Conse-  
 quence, that because the Magistrate may prescribe  
 in indifferent Things, he may therefore deprive  
 Men of all Liberty, and render his Power insup-  
 portable, any more than the allowing that a Fa-  
 ther or Master may correct his Son or Servant  
 will prove, that he may wound or maim him, or  
 knock his Brains out. The End of Government  
 is the Good of the People, and to obtain this  
 End, the Magistrate is to consider himself as the  
 Common Father of them all, and to concern  
 himself with the Affairs of private Families and  
 single Persons, if Occasion require; and to lay  
 such proper Restraints upon their Expences,  
 Pleasures, and Assemblies, as shall, in his Judg-  
 ment, best conduce to their own real Happiness,  
 or his own Safety. Thus Fairs and Markets are  
 held by Charter, and limited to certain Days.  
 Thus sumptuary Laws, and Laws against Gaming,  
 have



have been enacted. Thus Clubs have been taken Notice of and demolished. Thus the several Companies for carrying on of Business are incorporated by Charters, in this Kingdom at least, and as far as I can learn, all the World over. And who is there so ignorant as not to have heard of the Conqueror's *Cover Feu*, or, the Eight o' Clock Bell, which in some Towns and Parishes is rung to this Day, though not with the same Design as when it was first ordered. It was then required, that by the Time the Bell had done Ringing, no Fire or Candle was to be seen, and that Nobody was to be out of Bed without a special and substantial Reason.

But it will still be asked, May not the Magistrate, if his Power extends to indifferent Things, require so many to be done as may deprive Men of all Liberty, and render his Power insupportable? For this I have seem'd to grant, though I have denied the Justness of the Doctor's Inference. And I make no Scruple to say that he may.

The next Step therefore that a Man disposed to cavil will take, will be, to ask where must we stop? If we must comply in some Instances, why not in all? To which I answer, That there's a wide Difference betwixt the Magistrate's having a Power in indifferent Things, and our being obliged to comply with as many Things of this Kind as he shall be pleased, out of meer Pride, Wantonness, and Humour, to enjoin. The former, as Archbishop *Tillotson* observes, was never denied but by the Enthusiasts of these later Days; and even among these, every Master of a Family takes upon him to exercise this Power in his own House, among his Children, Servants, and Dependants; though it was always allow'd, that the Command of the Civil Magistrate is superior to

to that of a Domestick Governor ; and that he hath a larger Authority over all his Subjects, than such an one hath over those who are under his Care and Jurisdiction. As to the latter, there may be many Reasons against Compliance, as the present Bishop of *Winchester* observes, in his Reply to *Dr. Calamy* ; as the Impossibility of it, the perpetual Uneasiness of it, the Inconsistency of it with our Health, or with our Duty to ourselves in other Respects ; the Mispendence of the Time spent in them, which it is our Duty to employ better. But how can this be applied to such a Case as we are speaking of, supposing the Matters requir'd to be lawful ? p. 534.

Again, It is hard to fix the just Limits of this Obligation ; or to point out plainly to what Bounds it extends : Therefore what ? Therefore there is no such Obligation at all to comply in any Instances. This must be his Inference, if he design any Thing by this Argument against Compliance. And I appeal to all the World of Christians, if all the Duties of the Gospel may not be argued away after the same Manner.

For Instance, “ It is hard to determine exactly  
 “ what a Proportion of my Estate I am obliged  
 “ to bestow in Charity ; therefore I am not obliged to bestow any Part of it. It is hard to fix  
 “ the Exact Bounds of our Obligation to Temperance ; therefore there is no such Obligation. It is hard to fix the Exact Measures of  
 “ Justice in all Manner of Trade and Commerce ; therefore there is no Obligation to  
 “ it in any Instances. It is hard to fix the  
 “ Bounds of mutual Condescension amongst Christians ; therefore there is no such Duty. ”  
 p. 543.

To pursue this Argument as far as it will go, is to suspect that Mankind are destitute of common Sense; and therefore I pass on to another Glorious Piece of Doctrine, which the Doctor builds upon this rotten worm-eaten Bottom, *viz.* the taking it as an undeniable Maxim, that Civil Government first began by Election and Compact; which is this; “ The People may upon just Grounds withdraw  
 “ their Allegiance from the Civil Magistrate, because all the Power he has is given him by them  
 “ for their good; and they who depute him,  
 “ must needs reserve to themselves a Power to  
 “ judge whether their Deputy acts according to  
 “ the Trust lodged in him. ” p. 233. And then he goes on to shew the Absurdity of the contrary Opinion in these Words. “ But had he not his  
 “ Power from the People, but immediately from  
 “ God, he could never forfeit his Right, or be  
 “ accountable to any besides God; and only the  
 “ Divine Power, which gave it him, could take  
 “ it away. By this Argument, the fawning flattering Priests, in former Reigns, endeavour’d to  
 “ establish an absolute, arbitrary Power in the  
 “ King, which they very well saw was an unavoidable Consequence of Divine Right. ” p. 233, 234.

Now I beg Leave to observe, First, That these fawning flattering Priests, as he calls the Clergy, without any Distinction, have not to this very Day any Notion of the Civil Magistrate’s being the Peoples Deputy. Mr. *Hobbes* was the first that honour’d him with this Title; and though his and the Doctor’s Disciples have seconded him, together with the Doctor himself, yet their Opinion is as yet neither Part of our Common or Statute Law. It hath been a received Opinion among Divines, of this and other Protestant Churches, That as the Subject hath not Power over his  
 own

own Life and Limb, so he could not give the Magistrate what he hath not. This the Doctor acknowledges, p. 10, where he says, " That Men  
 " having no Power over their own Lives or Limbs,  
 " Government could not flow from hence, but  
 " must be deriv'd from the Power they had over  
 " one another ; founded on the inherent Right  
 " they have of preserving themselves, and pre-  
 " ferring their own Good to that of others. "  
 And again, " The Power every one had by the  
 " Law of Nature, is, by their receding from it,  
 " solely in the Magistrate. " But this doth not  
 mend the Matter, because it leaves the Magistrate  
 no Power of protecting himself, but what he had  
 by the Law of Nature ; and will prove the Ge-  
 nerality of Princes to be Murderers, when they  
 have cut off some disaffected Persons for such  
 Reasons as can entitle no private Person in a State  
 of Nature (as every Man in such a State is) to  
 do the same ; which I believe hath been always  
 done in all or most Countries. Nor is it in Fact  
 true, that Men ever did or could recede from the  
 Power which they had by the Law of Nature, and  
 vest it solely in the Magistrate ; and this he ac-  
 knowledges in the very next Page, where he al-  
 lows " Every Man to be in a State of Nature,  
 " when the Danger he is in is too sudden to  
 " have Recourse to the Magistrate. "

I make no Doubt but several Governments have  
 begun by the Choice and Consent of the People,  
 by Conquest, and upon the Ruins of the Pater-  
 nal and Patriarchal Authority ; and I know no  
 other Way of solving all the Difficulties which  
 have been started in this Argument, than by say-  
 ing with St. Paul, *That there's no Power but of God,*  
*and that the Powers which be are ordained of God.*  
 Whether Men are ruled by one, or by many, still  
 'tis God that rules them. Whether they, who  
 rule,



rule, attain the Government by lineal Descent, or by popular Election, or by Conquest or Surrender, or by Compact and Treaty, still it is God that gives it; and the several Constitutions of several Countries, the Victories, and Successes, and Events, which his Providence affords, are but so many several Ways of giving it. Thus we are positively told in Scripture, That he setteth up one, and pulleth down another; that he ruleth in the Kingdom of Men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will; that he changeth the Times and the Seasons; he removeth Kings, and setteth up Kings; that for the Transgression of a Land the Princes thereof are many, and Strangers are made to have Dominion over them; and the like.

This is not only the Reasoning of the Clergy of this Church, and particularly of Dean *Sherlock* and Dean *Stanhope*, but also of the Reformed Churches abroad. I know of no Divine whose Judgment is more generally esteemed among them than the Famous *Monsieur la Placete*. And what he says, in the Ninth Chapter of the First Book of his *Christian Casuist*, is so much the same with what I have said already, that 'tis needless to repeat it.

How an absolute arbitrary Power in the *King* is the unavoidable Consequence of this Doctrine, the Doctor's Disciples would do well to explain. Because it may please God to make a Man a King in a limited or mix'd Monarchy, as well as an absolute one; and we say of one as well as the other, that 'tis God's Ordinance; and the Person on the Throne in each of them we acknowledge to be *God's Minister*. Thus the Generals of two Armies have the same Name, and may be, for the most Part, Officers of the same Nature, and may be appointed by the same Prince, and yet their Commissions may differ in their Extent,

and one of them may enjoy much greater Power and Privileges than the other. And, indeed, the Mistakes which Men have run into, in Relation to the Measures of Submission, have been owing to their being unable or unwilling to distinguish betwixt a limited and an absolute Monarchy, or betwixt the executive and legislative Power of these Kingdoms.

All Governments whatsoever are absolute, but then it does not follow that all Kings are so. Our Government is the King, Lords, and Commons, or the King and Parliament; and this Government is as absolute, if they please, as the King of *France*, or the *Grand Seignior*. And to an absolute Prince, or, which is all one, to an absolute Government, is absolute Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance due, excepting those Cases where some Lesion of Mind may be fairly presumed: But in a mix'd Monarchy, where the chief Power is lodg'd partly in the King, and partly in the People or Senate, if the King shall invade that Part which doth not belong to him, it will be lawful to oppose a just Force to him, because his Power doth not extend so far: Which Position, saith the learned *Grotius*, I hold to be true, even though the Power of making War should be vested only in the King; which must be understood to relate only to Foreign War, since it cannot possibly be, that a Man can have a Part of the chief Government, and not have at the same Time a Right to defend it. *Grotius de Jure Belli & Pacis, Lib. I. Cap. 4. Sect. 13.*

I dare say, saith Archbishop *Sharpe*, there is not that Country upon Earth, let the Form of their Government be what it will (absolute Monarchy, legal Monarchy, Aristocracy, or Commonwealth) where this is not a Part of their Constitution, viz. That there is such a Submission due from all Subjects

jects to the Supreme Authority of the Place where they live, as shall tye up their Hands from opposing or resisting it by Force. And again, so long as this Text (*Rom. xiii. 12.*) stands in our Bibles, the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, or Passive Obedience must be of Obligation to all Christians. But then, after I have said this, Care must be taken, that this *General Doctrine* be not misapplied in *particular Countries*. Though Non-Resistance, or Passive Obedience be a Duty to all Subjects, and under all Governments, yet it is not expressed the same Way in all Places, but both the *Objects* and the *Instances* of it do vary in different Nations, according to the different Models of their Government. To speak this as plainly as I can; as the Laws of the Land are the Measures of our active Obedience, so are also the same Laws the Measures of our Submission: And as we are not bound to obey, but where the Laws and Constitution require our Obedience, so neither are we bound to submit, but as the Laws and Constitution do require our Submission. Sermon before the House of Lords, Jan. 30, 1699, p. 19, 20.

There are some Acts of Parliament which in this Kingdom have been thought by some sufficient to tye up the Subjects Hands even when this comes to pass; but it hath been always held to be a very good Way, in Order to understand a Law, to enquire into its Foundation, Original, and Design, and though the Wording or Style of it be in general Terms, to limit and restrain it to that Sense which the Lawgivers intended we should take it in; for he that shall evade the true Intent and Meaning of a Law, by complying with the Letter only, is looked upon, by all honest Men, to pay, I do not say a shuffling and jesuitical, but indeed no Obedience at all; and by Pa-

city of Reason, he that carries his Obedience higher than the Makers of a Law intended to have it carry'd, obeys not the Law but a Phantom of his own railing. It is therefore insisted on, that though a great many Laws have been enacted to preserve the King's Person and Government, to which the villanous and private Conspiracy of some, and the open and unnatural Rebellions of others, have given Birth, yet those Laws have been made with a View to these only, and the slight and frivolous Pretences on which they are generally founded, but that it doth not appear that our Forefathers, when they passed those Laws, had in their View such an Invasion of the Rights, Liberties, and Properties of the People as must bear down, if it prevail, all the Laws and every Thing that we claim as Free-born *Englishmen* before it.

Thus the famous Statutes of King *Charles* the Second's Reign, so often quoted in this Dispute, were occasioned by a barbarous Rebellion, and popular and mad Destruction of the Regal Power and a Pious King. And he that considers the Joy that prevailed at that Time, to see the ancient Government restored again whole and entire, and the Zeal that all good Men had to have it continued to us, will easily believe that this engrossed the Thoughts of our Legislators. Nay, he that shall read any good History of this Reign may see, with half an Eye, that it was the least of their Thoughts to pass any Act of Parliament that should leave our Laws, Liberties, and Properties to the Mercy and Consciences of our Kings

In short, Sir, the general Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance is the Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, of the Primitive Church, and the Church of *England*; but however



ver Men may talk or write upon this Argument, such another Attempt upon our Constitution as was made by King *James II.* will soon reconcile such a vast Majority of all Orders and Degrees of Men amongst us, as will soon convince a Prince that shall endeavour to make himself an arbitrary despotick Governor, instead of being a limited one, that there is at least one Exception to the Rules of our Obedience to him, that is, when all is at Stake, and there is no other Remedy. Men will easily then, when they clearly see and are likely to feel the Tendency and Effects of their Notions, be prevailed on to distinguish betwixt the Powers that are and the Powers that are not. And how much soever the Clergy of this Kingdom may be stigmatized as Flatterers of Princes and Enslavers of their Fellow Subjects, I am very well assured, that there is not one Clergyman of Note in the Kingdom that holds the Doctrine of absolute Non-Resistance and Passive Obedience to be due to the executive Power of these Kingdoms. But to assert, as the Doctor does, That the People may upon just Grounds withdraw their Allegiance from the Civil Magistrate in general, which Grounds or Reasons he explains, p. 7, to be, “ when he acts contrary “ to the End for which he was constituted, “ which they who deputed him (that is, according to him, the People) have a Right to “ judge, ” is laying down such loose, and indeed I cannot help saying, such devilish Doctrine, as furnishes the factious and discontented Part of any Nation with Pretences and Excuses for Rebellion, whensoever a favourable Opportunity shall offer itself. Neither is it true in Fact, that they who elect a Man into an Office must be necessarily supposed to reserve to themselves a Power of turning him out again.

Thus,

Thus, for Instance, though the King of *Poland*, who is an Elective Prince, doth, at his Coronation, condition with the People, That if he shall not govern according to such and such Rules, they shall be freed from their Homage and Allegiance; yet the Emperor of *Germany* is an Elective Prince, without any such Condition; neither can his Electors, after they have chosen him, turn him out again, except it be by Force. Members of Parliament and Mayors of Corporations are further Instances of Officers that cannot be discharg'd by their Constituents; and I could almost wish, that the Fellows of *All Souls College* had had a discretionary Power of turning out their own Members after they had elected them, and had not been ty'd up to such and such Forms, which the Doctor knew how to make a crafty Use of to preserve himself from Expulsion.

I have now done with this Argument, but shall stay to make a short Remark or two. And, first, If the Doctor's Reasonings be just, it must follow, that the independent Power which he bestows on the Civil Magistrate is in Reality in every Person in the Kingdom, that is, originally and radically, and with such Reserves, that the Magistrate is very little more than a Shadow, which will at last amount to this, that we have as many independent Powers as we have Noses.

Secondly, I must observe, that 'the glorious Confusion which he labours to introduce both in Church and State hath been experienc'd so very lately, and the horrid Desolations which it occasion'd were so very terrible, tragical, and shocking, that 'tis almost Matter of Wonder to see any Sect of profess'd Christians that are endued with common Sense, and have the least Regard for their Country, perpetually advancing such mad and impracticable Schemes as have already occasion'd

tion'd such Wounds both in our Constitution and the Estates of private Families, as our latest Posterity are likely to wear the Scars of. And as we have been so wonderfully deliver'd from the further Continuance of these Devastations, by the Restoration of King *Charles II.* I may reasonably argue, as the Doctor doth upon another Occasion, " That if we make no better Use of so wonderful a Deliverance, than to be drawn into the same Danger on the same Pretences, we have little Reason to imagine Providence will interpose again in so extraordinary a Manner. "

And so sensible were the Clergy of the Church of *England* of this, as well as of the natural Tendency of the Doctor's false Reasonings and confident Assertions, that whatever Contempt he was pleas'd to throw upon their Order, he soon saw, that no one of them was so far lost and stigmatiz'd as to appear publicly on the same Side with him. He met his Disappointment of appealing to our Church under any Denomination, by seeing the whole Clergy, as one Man, rise up against him. His scandalous Performance underwent likewise a Sort of publick Censure from the most serious and intelligent Part of the Dissenters; and Mr. *Enty*, to his Honour be it spoken, very handsomely exploded several Passages of it in a Sermon preach'd before a numerous Assembly of his Brethren at *Exeter* which was generally if not universally approv'd of by them, and desir'd to be made publick.

And if one or two of some Note among them, and one of no Note among us, except it be for his Impudence and Ignorance, have of late Years lick'd up some of the Doctor's Spittle, and discharg'd it afresh at the Church of *England*, I have very good Grounds to believe, that they have since had sufficient Cause to repent of it.

'Tis

'Tis true, indeed, that Infidelity took in a Manner its first Rise from our unhappy Civil Wars ; and the Licentiousness of those Times, both in Principle and Practice, have produc'd a plentiful Number of Wretches who look upon all Religion as a Cheat ; and could they see us infected with such another Phrenzy, there's no Doubt but their Party would receive a fresh Addition and Increase ; and therefore they act consistently enough with themselves, in endeavouring to set us once more together by the Ears, and levelling their Batteries chiefly at the Church of *England*, which if it could be again destroy'd, 'tis easy to foresee that the Decency and Sobriety of the Christian Religion will soon follow it, as we have already seen. And this may serve, as no small Comfort to the Clergy, under all the scurrilous Invectives of the Doctor and his Brethren, That they are persecuted for Truths and Righteousness Sake. We saw and foretold as soon as *The Rights, &c.* came out, what they wanted to be at, and the Event hath, alas ! shewn the Prediction to be too true ; and that they set themselves with so much Malice and Fury against the Priesthood and Priestcraft (as they are pleased to express themselves) as the most regular Method to root out Christianity and make Way for Infidelity ; so that *The Rights, &c.* are a Preface or Introduction to the Doctor's other infamous Performance, which he entitles, by Way of Sneer, *Christianity as old as the Creation* ; which as it hath been so lately under the Consideration of such truly Excellent Persons as Dr. Connybeare, Dr. Waterland, Dr. Cockman, and several others, and is at present before the World, I shall say but little.



It is, as one of these Learned Gentlemen hath truly styled it, a declamatory Libel against Revealed Religion, under Colour and Pretence of setting up Natural Religion in its Place : There are two principal Ends or Aims, which though oddly blended and jumbled together, visibly run through the whole Performance. One is to villify the Scriptures, which the Author does very frankly, and without Disguise, speaking from his Heart ; the other is to magnify the Law of Nature, which is the artificial Part, and from what hath been already said, can pass only for Hypocrisy and Flam : His Attacks upon the Bible are feeble, and his Artillery contemptible ; he discovers no Genius nor Taste of Literature ; no Acquaintance with the Original Languages, nor so much as with common Criticks and Commentators ; several of his Objections are pure English Objections, such as affect only our Translation : And the Rest are generally of the lowest and most trifling Sort ; either because he had a Mind to suit them to the vulgar Taste, or because he could rise no higher.

Thus much shall suffice for the general Character of this Book, which every impartial Reader, on perusing it, will find to be strictly just. The Learned Dr. *Waterland* hath demonstrated his pitiful trifling with the Scripture in a Multitude of Instances ; and 'tis to be hoped that worthy Gentleman will suffer nothing to discourage him from pursuing his first Design ; that is, to rescue every Text of Scripture from the Abuses of this profane Scribler.

As to the other Part of the Book, which we call the Artificial Part, if you should be unsatisfy'd with my referring you to the former Part of this Letter for a Proof of it, I desire you to take Notice, that though he harangues very plausibly

in Praise of Vertue and Morality, yet, as a worthy Gentleman before mention'd, Dr. *Cockman*, Master of University College, hath told us, like those whose Intention it is to deceive, *Versatur in Universalibus*, and neither tells us distinctly what that Virtue is, whose Charms he commends, nor what those Duties are, which the Law of Nature requires of us, from the Consideration of the Natures of God and Man, and from the Relation which we stand in to him and to one another: *Ita rem involvit, ut vix ejus mens percipiatur*, as one of the Schoolmen says upon a like Occasion.

I have therefore no other Way to let you know more of the Doctor's System of Ethicks, than by giving you a further Account of his Life and Conversation. Our Blessed Saviour hath told us, That we must not expect to gather Grapes of Thorns or Figs of Thistles, and we must not expect the Product of Atheism to be very agreeable to the Rules of strict Morality. I have observ'd before, that a Confident of the Doctor's was capable of giving a very ample and satisfactory Account of his Amours and Natural Children, and therefore it will be no great News to tell you, that he was publickly reprimanded by the Society of *All Souls*, as an *Egregious Fornicator*. Nor will it be strange to you to be acquainted, that he was so far from being ashamed of having Bastards upon Bastards, that he declares Incontinence in single Persons to be one of the Rights and Liberties which God hath allow'd us by the Law of Nature, p. 119. It is the common Cant of Infidels; that simple Fornication is no Sin. I shall therefore stay so long as to examine a little into the Merits of this Cause.

'Tis in vain to urge Scripture, to those who deny its Authority, or to shew what Notions  
even

even some Heathens had of this Matter in some Cases, how much soever the Generality of them might be addicted to this Vice. I shall therefore deal with the Infidels in general as I did, about a Year ago, with a pert young Gentleman in *London*, who star'd at me, and wonder'd what I meant when I condemn'd it as a Sin; and was going to give himself the Liberty of talking scurrilously and abusively, but that I turn'd the Discourse into Seriousness in this Manner. Sir, said I, do you allow of the Golden Rule of Doing as you would be done by? His answer was, Sir, I do allow it to be most Equitable. Why then, Sir, reply'd I, would you be willing to have your own Daughter (for he happen'd to have an only Daughter) or a near Kinswoman debauch'd before Marriage? Would you not think yourself and your Family very highly injur'd and affronted by any Man that should be guilty of such a Piece of Rudeness towards it? The Poverty of a Family does not alter the Case, except it enhance the Injury, by taking from it that Credit and Reputation which is its chief Comfort and Support, next to the Blessings and Providence of God. Indeed, Sir, return'd my Spark, there you have me; and I have nothing to object further.

But, however, though we should allow, as the Heathen World did, of the common Stews, or a Communication with such lewd Women as are already debauch'd and have no Reputation to lose, yet it will be allow'd to be a barbarous and vile Action in Doctor *Tindall*, to endeavour to debauch a young Gentlewoman of a creditable Family on the Road betwixt *Oxford* and *London*. The young Lady found herself so hardly besieg'd, that she privately desir'd an elderly Gentlewoman that was in the Company to exchange Chambers with her, left her own, which the Doctor had

got Intelligence of, should be forc'd in the Night. Her Suspicions were not ill grounded, for when the Family were in Bed, the Doctor came to the Door, where he suppos'd to have found his Prey; But the good Matron told him, That his Plot was defeated, and that she had taken Care to secure that Innocence and Vertue which he had given himself so much Trouble to deprive the young Lady of, by placing her far enough out of his Reach; that there was Nobody in the Room besides herself, and that he had nothing to do but to return to his own Lodging.

But if we should be so liberal to the Infidel and debauch'd Part of the world, as to yield that the Doctor had done nothing amiss, though he had carried his Point with this young Gentlewoman, provided it had been done by the Consent of both Parties; yet, surely, if a Child had been the Consequence of such a Piece of Gallantry, and the Doctor had persuaded her to lay the Infamy of begetting it, and the Charge of keeping it, at another Man's Door, which could not be done without the utmost Injustice, and most terrible Perjury, what Deist, nay, what modest Atheist would not give him up as one of the most abandon'd Villains in the World? And even thus much the Doctor was capable of, as appears by more Instances than one. The first of these (if not both of them) is just hinted at by Doctor Cockman, in his Preface to his Sermons on *Acts* iv. 12.

Doctor Tindall had one Day perceiv'd that one of his Nymphs was in her Pregnancy, and therefore prevail'd on her to lay the Child to another Gentleman. And, in order thereunto, she waited on the Vice Chancellor and desir'd to be put to her Oath. The old Gentleman desir'd her to consider of the Sacredness of an Oath, and the great and irreparable Injury that might be done by



exceeding easy to be better inform'd. I cannot by swearing to an innocent Person. When he found her obstinately persisting in her Allegation against the Gentleman she had named, who it seems had been privately sent for, and directed how to act his Part, the Vice Chancellor ask'd her, Child are you sure that you know Mr. —? She answered, That she was, and could distinguish him from ever so great a Company. Well then, said he, the Gentleman is in the next Room, and I'll immediately make Tryal of what you say. Upon this, he open'd a Parlour Door, which discover'd several Gentlemen with their Hands behind them, for the Person accus'd had, it seems, two Thumbs upon one of his Hands. This Stratagem immediately defeated her Design, and she fell down upon her Knees and confessed, that Doctor *Tindall* was the real Father of the Child, and that what she had done was by his Persuasion and Direction. You see now, said the Vice Chancellor, how kind I have been to you, in hindering you from being guilty of so horrid a Crime as Forswearing yourself. This Story is so well known at *Oxford* to be true, that to produce Vouchers for it is to light a Candle to the Sun.

The other is, I suppose, of earlier Date; but it has, however, the Credit of a Canon Residentiary, who was one of the Ejected *Demys* of *Magdalen College* in King *James* the Second's Time to support it. The Doctor got a Wench to swear one of his Children to a Gentleman of that College, altogether as infamous at that Time as himself. The Gentleman was oblig'd to submit and maintain the Child: Nevertheless, after some Time, he got into the Company of the Mother, and ask'd her how she came to use him so, since she could not be ignorant that he was never concern'd with her in the Manner that she had sworn. Her Answer

swer was, That Doctor *Tindall* had got her with Child, and prevail'd on her to swear as she had done. Well then, my Dear, replies the pious Reprover, I desire you to be so just to me as to let me get another, and that you would swear it to him, which was immediately a Bargain and strictly executed in all its Branches.

And now Sir, to conclude, I think I may justly say of him as he does of the Clergy of this Church in the 145th Page of *the Rights, &c.* "That his Life might serve for a very good Rule, if Men would act quite contrary to it; for then there's no Christian, and I may add, no moral Vertue, which they could fail of observing." And if the Youth of our Nation will still be so much out of their Wits as to follow (as they are led) such a notorious and bare-faced Factor for the Devil, a Debauchee, a Renegade, an Atheist, who, according to his own Doctrine, can have no Conscience, *The Rights* p. 18; a Wretch that for the Sake of his Vices made Shipwreck of a good Conscience first, and his Faith afterwards, and at last became like the Trees in *St. Jude* twice dead pluck'd up by the Roots. I can only say, that the Discipline of a *Bedlam* or a *Bridewell* is the best Way of Reasoning with them, notwithstanding their great Pretences to free and impartial Thinking, deep Penetration and Abilities superior to the Rest of Mankind. I have the Honour of being, SIR,

*Your very Humble Servant, &c.*

POST-

## P O S T S C R I P T.

SINCE this Letter was drawn up, I have accidentally met with a Letter in one of the publick Prints, from a Justice of Peace in the Country to his Friend in Town; where, complaining of the great Increase of Converts to the Church of Rome, and of the Clergys being drawn off from the Defence of the Protestant Religion, by Reason of the Attacks that have been so furiously made by the Infidels of our Times against Christianity in general, he says, " But what if the *Papists* have been at the Bottom of our Irreligion? I will only tell you, that a profess'd Deist assur'd me that they had no less than *five* *Romish Priests* Members of a Club, in which, once a Week, some of the most tremendous Truths of the Gospel were treated with Ridicule. And this hath been an old Device, Unsettle the Minds of the People, and we shall have them at last. " This puts me in Mind of what was said about Nine Years ago by an honest Country Clergyman in a Controversy with the *Chaplain of a Roman Catholick Nobleman*. " 'Tis no surprising Thing, I confess, to me, saith he, to hear a Jesuit talk like a Deist, or a Deist like a Jesuit; 'tis many Times as difficult to distinguish their Principles, as 'tis to know them by their Persons or by their Habits. " *Mr. Barret's Reply to the Catholick Answer*, p. 46. I shall leave you, Sir, to apply this as you think fit, or to let it pass without any Application, if you think it deserves none. Such as are of my Opinion think it deserves a great deal.

I de-

I desire you to indulge me a Word or two more and I have done. The Doctor tells us a Story in the 268th Page of *the Rights*, &c. which hath serv'd to furnish out so many pretty Conversations, that I have hardly ever been in Company with the Fine Gentlemen of the Age, that have been inclin'd to be arch upon the Clergy, without having the Pleasure of hearing it retail'd.

“ The old Lord *Hallifax*, he says, told Doctor *Echard*, that he had not in his *Book* of the “ *Contempt of the Clergy* hit on the true Reason of “ it, ” *viz.* the *Knowledge of the Laity*. To which, continues he, the Doctor, as 'tis said, readily reply'd, “ That, God be thank'd there “ was Ignorance enough still among the Laity to “ support the Authority of the Clergy. ” I confess, Sir, 'tis almost a Pity to spoil this pretty Story, nay, as great a Pity as 'tis to spoil a *Desert* that in the Heat of Summer represents, in a very beautiful Manner, the Frost, and Snow, and Ice of the Winter. But yet, for the Sake of Truth, I must observe, that if you will give yourself the Trouble to read over Doctor *Echard*'s Writings upon this Subject, which may be done in a few Hours, you will easily perceive, that 'tis morally impossible that any such Conversation should happen betwixt that Noble Lord and Dr. *Echard*; and that a Man may as well believe the Conversation betwixt the Devil and Dr. *Tindall* to be real, which we have an Account of in that humorous Poem of Doctor *Evans*'s entituled, *the Devil and the Doctor*, and intended only as a Banter. Surely, Sir, it would better become People that pretend to so much Inquisitiveness, Caution, and Accuracy, to read Books, before they pretend to give an Account of them; and not to be so very forward to put Tricks upon themselves and others, especially in such Cases where 'tis so



exceeding easy to be better inform'd. I cannot but recollect in this Place, that I have heard the Author of *Timothy* and *Philatheos* say, that he once assur'd the late Mr. *Collings* that he had taken up a false Information upon Trust, and that he was ready to prove it to him if he would go with him to the *Lambeth* Library ; but Mr. *Collings* refus'd either to go with him, or to retract what he had so unwarily asserted. Behold the Men who *think freely and are above being Priest-ridden, Bigottry following as they are led, &c.!* *Spectatum admissi risum teneatis, &c.*

October 1, 1734.

F I N I S.



1697

MUSEVM  
BRITAN  
NICVM

